524 534 Bull-roarer.- Bull-roarer (ku·list, lit., instrument for playing, i.e., toy) made from stalk of Spanish bayonet, Yucca whipplei Torr., foothill, desert floral areas. Stalk dried, split in half, section 8-10 in. cut off, attached at center (sic) to 4-ft. length of native twine; stick handle lacking. Boys' toy (SM).

TOBACCO

137 ●249 Two species of tobacco (šo'ogonht), Nicotiana bigelovii Wats. and N. attenuata Torr., grow wild on floors of Kern and South Fork valleys and on slopes of lower foothills, at elevation from 2500-2800 ft. Of 2 species, N. bigelovii commoner than smaller-leaved N. attenuata, but native term is same for both and 2 species grow side by side, sometimes less than 1 ft. apart. At various points in South Fork valley not yet under cultivation wild tobacco plants are concentrated in 1- or 2-acre patches or fields (šo'ogonhtiŋ ugan), sparsely interspersed with low clumps of brush and turkey mullein; from such fields (pl. 3) tobacco was and still is (1933) being gathered for use by Tübutulabal women.

249 Tending and preparation.- Tobacco patches never burned over in fall; although ES drew my attention to half-burned clump of brush situated in patch she and FP were "working" in 1932, saying tobacco seemed to grow better where ground had been burned over, she and SM both said tobacco patches were never fired in order to produce better stands of plants next year. "The rain is what makes the plants grow" (SM).

In spring, about June 1, when plants 18-24 in. high, and beginning to blossom, women working singly or in groups of 2-3 began tending wild tobacco. This first tending consisted in snipping off, with thumb and index finger of right hand, side shoots and occasionally tips of plants. Hardy plants, mainly of bigelovii species, which did not have too many small shoots clustering around base of main stalk, selected for attention; after woman had pruned plant she would sometimes, but not always, wrench off some of large leaves which grow flat on ground around base of plant, and occasionally she would uproot weed growing close by plant. Selection of plants to tend made more or less at random from among numerous healthy specimens surrounding women workers; according to MM it was owing to this that later, several pruned plants were overlooked at final harvesting of crop. At first pruning of their 1932 crop ES and FP worked from 6 a.m. to around 10 a.m.; all trips to tobacco patch made early in morning, to take advantage of comparative coolness for, although pruning itself not difficult, it necessitates almost constant stooping over plants in full glare of hot midsummer sun. Also sun makes tobacco "strong" and sticky

●249 to handle after morning coolness has passed off (ES).

Week after first pruning, plants again denuded of sideshoots which had sprouted out afresh; new bottom leaves and some of flowering tips also snipped off. By this time tended plants had 6-8 leaves on solitary mainstalks; these leaves noticeably larger and thicker than more numerous leaves on bushier, untended plants growing beside them.

One more pruning, week later, followed; plants left to develop further for 10 more days, then leaves gathered. Fleshy leaves, which were often 3-4 in. wide, 7-10 in. long, still green, stripped off stalks by hand; stalks left standing, leaves deposited, after gatherer had accumulated as many as she could hold in sheaf in left hand, in sack gatherer kept on ground beside her. In 1932 LT assisted ES and FP in gathering crop; this was longer and more arduous task than previous prunings had been. The 2 younger women, LT and ES, actually gathered leaves; FP sat on ground in middle of patch and, as sacks of leaves brought to her, she emptied contents of sacks on piece of canvas spread out in front of her and tore leaves apart, discarding midrib (u·n, stalk) of each leaf. If midribs had not been removed, "they would have tasted just like wood" in the tobacco (FP). Later in morning, after ES and LT had finished gathering leaves they assisted FP in her task. Five wheat sacks of leaves gathered; this amounted to 2 washtubs, 2 ft. in diameter and about 20 in. high, of half-shredded leaves from which midribs had been removed.

Tobacco, thus far prepared, taken home by FP and LT and allowed to stand in washtubs 2 days. On morning of second day 2 youths sent to banks of South Fork of Kern r. to obtain small truckload of willow shoots (poyiwošt), Salix hindsiana Benth., S. exigua Nutt. When boys returned with willow FP and ES took shoots, pailful of cold water to which cupful of shelled, slightly crushed pine nuts had been added, and the 2 tubfuls of shredded tobacco and set to work on ground in shade of large cottonwood tree. Aided by ES, who handed her bunches of willow shoots, FP spread 12-15 shoots on ground parallel to each other to form leafy mat; she then took 1 or 2 generous double handfuls of green tobacco and spread it out in center of matted willows, sprinkling tobacco thoroughly with water in which pine nuts floated. After doing this she took more willow shoots which she spread on top of tobacco to cover latter completely; whole affair then tied with strips of burlap into cigar-shaped bundle 4 ft. long, 1 ft. in diameter. Ten such bundles prepared; set out in sun in open field adjacent to FP's house, where they were left for 10 days, after which they were piled up in shade, untied, and opened. Tobacco, black, wet, strong-smelling, removed from willow casings with fingers and spread out thinly on squares of canvas to dry in sun; willows in which it had

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●249 been wrapped piled up around sides of canvas to form windbreak and barrier against straying fowls. By middle of July, or 10 days after being unwrapped, tobacco considered sufficiently dry; it was gathered up from canvas and it almost filled 50-lb. flour sack.

Next step was to pound tobacco. Early one morning FP took the tobacco, round coiled basketry tray, and small brush, up to SM's rancheria where ES lived, and 2 women prepared to pound tobacco in pit mortar holes on rancheria. Two youths cut some scrub oak and made rude arbor almost completely encircling pit mortar bed, and in this shady workplace FP and ES sat down, as described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 24), and started to pound tobacco, using for pestles rude boulders 12-15 in. long, 3-4 in. thick, which were at mortar bed. Each woman put double handful of tobacco into hole and pounded with steady up and down motion, pestle being grasped near its top end with both hands and not being lifted more than 12 in. above mortar hole. When tobacco leaves well pulverized powdered tobacco scooped out of mortar with both hands and piled up on basket tray, which was shaken gently from side to side with occasional flip up and down, until coarse and fine particles were separated. Fine portion was put in empty sack, coarser powder returned to mortar hole for additional pounding. What loose tobacco fell around edges of mortar hole brushed back into hole with soaproot brush; later when pounding finished, basketry tray also dusted off with brush. When all tobacco had been pounded into olive-drab-colored powder which was about as fine as snuff, total amount half-filled 50-lb. flour sack. This work took ES and FP 2 hours to accomplish; pounding tobacco not considered by either of them as hard work as pounding acorns, "because tobacco is dry" (ES).

Within next 2-3 days, FP made tobacco into balls and plugs (pa·mil). An infusion of whole fresh tobacco plants, which she gathered near her home, was obtained by boiling the plants in water 1-2 hours, "until the water was black, like coffee" (ES). This infusion was then strained, allowed to cool, and added to powdered tobacco in sufficient quantity to make stiff dough, which was kneaded with hands, and shaped into oval balls 3-4 in. long and little less than 3 in. thick, or into plugs 5 x 5 x 1 in. Plugs made by putting dough into 4-sided, top and bottomless form, similar to those used in making [177] adobe bricks, which rested on flat piece of wood; use of these forms not aboriginal, all tobacco having formerly been made up into balls. Balls and plugs were then set on plank in sunny place to dry for about 10 days; when thoroughly dry tobacco ready to be used. In final form, crop 435 gathered by ES, FP, and LT yielded 10 plugs, 14 balls; ES given as her share 5 balls. Both balls [438 and plugs valued in 1932 at $3 apiece; constituted, both in aboriginal times and to some ex- 439] tent today, article of intra- and intertribal trade (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wYsok, and my younger sister was married, too.

Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
159 were married; my people were living up there,
591 making gardens. It was nice up there by the river. My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete; she kept scolding me for taking him again. She didn't like him because when he got drunk he was mean and chased around with other women. My parents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband and I were living in one big house. My sister's husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
[432] lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gardens; they helped each other; they worked early in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden of our own; we were just staying there with my parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away from there. Only my half brother stayed up there; he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there until a white man came and told him to get out of there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yYtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't menstruate any more, and then I had Legora. When she was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was in labor all night and all day; my mother took care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[824] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or grease for one month afterward; just flour and beans. After my first baby was born my mother made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night; it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yYtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to play with. We used to cut barley down here in the valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after that wišimlit's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

159 a patch near Weldon. They were camping at Tom
249 Cook's place that time they were working the to-
bacco. One night my father returned to camp, sick;
he could hardly walk. And then he was sick in bed
for one week; he didn't get up any more. Somebody
159 came and told me, "Your father's sick over there,"
249 so I went and stayed with him for a week. Then he
763 died. Two white men came and made a coffin and
764 they buried him in back of the Onyx rancheria, in
the cemetery there. Lots of Indians are buried
there. They put away his feather headdress in the
coffin with him; he had been a dancer and always
danced at fiestas.

159 I took my mother over to my house at yYtiyamup
765 in the evening after we had buried my father. My
[769] mother lived with me for a long time after that;
my husband used to work all the time, on ranches,
or going to the mts. with cattle; my son, too,
when he got big. After awhile my mother went over
to her cousin's at Canebrake to get her face
washed by her ta·gin (see section on Rituals);
she didn't make any fiesta then, she just had her
face washed. She gave that ta·gin $30 and some
calico for washing her face. Finally my mother
went back to Canebrake to live there. She lived
with her brother and his daughter and a grandson
[285 of hers. She made lots of baskets up there to
438] sell to a peddler who came around.

Then one day in July that grandson came down
159 to SM's rancheria and told me my mother was dead.
763 There had been a cloudburst up at Canebrake; my
mother had been fixing a basket under a ramada
when it began to rain. She had some tobacco dry-
ing down below in the canyon, and she got up and
went down to take it in. Her brother and his
daughter were standing watching. "Don't you go
there," they said, but my mother didn't heed them.
The water came down the canyon awfully quickly:
it was all muddy and running strong. It caught my
mother where she was, in the canyon.

159 I went up to Canebrake right away, on horse-
764 back, with my son and daughter and Mike Miranda;
we looked all over in that canyon, but we never
found my mother's body. Maybe it was buried in
the sand. The others were looking for the body,
too, but they couldn't find it. We stayed there
one night and I burned her clothes. She had lots
of clothes; Petra Miranda used to give her lots
of them every time she went down to the Jesus
ranch. I burned my mother's trunk with all her
clothes in it, but I brought all her baskets home
with me. I couldn't find her money. I asked my
cousin where it was, but she didn't know where
she kept it either. My mother must have had money,
because she sold baskets all the time when the
peddler went over to Canebrake. Maybe she had it
buried good, some place.

159 After we had searched for my mother's body,
591 the next day we returned to SM's rancheria, all
of us, Mike and my children and I. We stayed
there all the time then. Legora used to work for
white people on the ranches over here, over
there. I moved close to Steban's house. We didn't

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789 Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

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342 Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle background tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

249 Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

●249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

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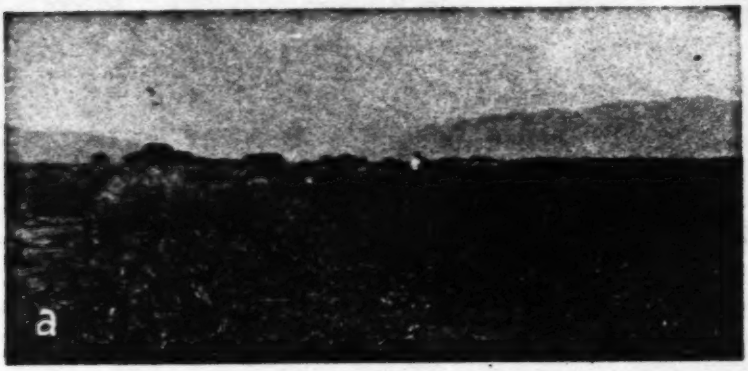

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